

KHOWAR, the predominant language of Chitral and of the adjacent parts of the Gilgit district, is characterized on the one hand by a tenacious preservation of ancient IA. sounds, forms, and words, and on the other hand by the existence of a remarkably large number of foreign elements. According to Sir George Grierson, Khowar "in some essential particulars agrees rather with the Ghaccha languages to the north".¹ And, drawing attention to the fact that the Chitral valley² was formerly inhabited by Kalashas, he expresses the opinion that the originally homogeneous Dardic population of Kafiristan, Chitral, and Gilgit "was subsequently split into two by a wedge of Kho invasion, representing members of a different, but related, tribe coming from the north [of the Hindukush]". In whatever way one may be inclined to interpret the position there can be no doubt that Kho., when compared with the neighbouring Dardic dialects, presents many peculiarities which deserve our attention.

Among the words included in the list given by Sir George³ in order to exemplify the difference between Kho. and other Dard and Kufir languages some may be of IA. origin. But it is none the less remarkable that Kho. should differ so widely from its neighbours, even as regards a number of the most common words, e.g. such as denote parts of the body. Thus, corresponding in most cases to words of IA. origin in Shina and Kalasha, Kho. has *yec* 'eye', *'pong* 'mouth', *ti'gini* 'tongue', *ri'gis* 'beard', *et'moy* 'finger', *doyar* 'nail', *kram*, *arg* 'back', *as'qar* 'lung', *ghak* 'bone', *is'ki* (*q?*) 'heel', *is'qi* 'jaw', *biq* 'pupil', *zamu* 'knee', *bazu* 'arm'. Some of these words come from Ir., others are of unknown origin.⁴

The Ir. loanwords in Kho. which form the subject of this article are very numerous. They may roughly be divided into the following groups, which, as will be seen, cannot always be clearly distinguished:

- I. Loanwords from (Modern) Pers.
- II. Loanwords from some Middle Ir. language.
- III. Loanwords from the Pamir dialects.
- IV. Loanwords from some undefinable or unknown Ir. source.

¹ *LST*, VIII, 2, p. 133.

² Or, at any rate, Lower Chitral.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ Cf. also, for instance, *rta* 'wine', *rhni* 'dog', *is'kim* 'silk', etc.

I

The first group is by far the largest one, but also the least interesting from the linguistic point of view. Most of the Pers., or Ar.-Pers., loanwords in Kho. belong to that well-known host of "Islamic" words which has swept victoriously over half of Asia. They need not detain us here. But there are a few which present phonetic or semantic peculiarities of some sort and which call for some brief remarks.

It is noteworthy that in some words Pers. voiceless plosives have been rendered by Kho. aspirates. Thus: *phost* 'skin'; *khām* 'palate'; *ba'than* 'native country'.¹ A secondary aspiration appears also in some Kho. words of IA. origin, for instance in *phān* 'palm of the hand'. But in Badakshi Pers. there is a tendency towards the aspiration of voiceless plosives, and it is possible that this is the reason why Kho. has chosen the aspirate in some cases. We may compare the situation in Ossetic, which possesses two series of voiceless plosives, and may employ either of them to present foreign ones.

Ba'than is remarkable also on account of its *b* corresponding to Pers. *w*. This word cannot have been borrowed before the Kho. change of *b* > *b*, and I can find no reason why the *w* was not retained, just as in *wari*, *wazīr*, etc.

A curious form is *sabzīkī* 'a kind of horse fodder, lucerne'. It is evidently borrowed from Pers. cf. *safzīl*, *ṣawāl* 'lucerne'; but the exact form from which it is derived is unknown.² But there must be some connection between the Kho. form and 'Sanskrit' *sai-pi-li-k'ie* (< *sok-h'ji-luk-kar*) given by Li Shi Chen.³

gurzīn 'garden', which from Kho. has penetrated into Kal. and Pal., is possibly a cross between **gurzel*, **gulzēr* < Pers. *gulzār* and Pers. *grūsan*.

The "*imāla*"⁴, which has been assumed for the hypothetical Pers. dialect-form **yukēr*, appears also in other Kho. words. Thus we find *ke'lēk* (Kal. *kut'lēc*) 'fathom' < Pers. *qilāt*, *pelāt* 'rug' < Pers. *pālās*, *na'wēs* 'grandchild' < Pers. *nawāsa*, *kītēk*, *kītēp* (Werchikwar *kītēp*, Yidgha *ketēv*), but also *kiāb* 'book' < Pers. *kītāb*, *ñeñik*

(O'Brien) 'powder horn' < Pers. *sīz(ək)*. Cf. also Munji *rīkāb* 'stirrup' < Pers. *rīkāb* = *rīkāb*.

Kho. *nēñik* 'to write' agrees with the common E. Pers. form which has introduced the *i* of the preterite into the present stem. But I am unable to trace the exact source of such forms as *rīcīs* 'rhubarb'; Pers. *rīwās*, Pah. *rōwās*; *naxor* 'pea'; Pers. *naxād*; *yakwān* 'kite'; Pers. *yalewāl*, etc.; *angāk* 'awake'; Pers. *āgāh* 'aware'; *yrzār* 'footstep, trace'; Pers. *gūdīr* 'passage'; *krenj* (Kal. *krīn*) 'wrinkle' corresponds to Pers. *gurinj*, but a *k* is attested in Bal. *kirik*, Kurd. *kurisj* < **kurindj*.

A further form peculiar to Kho. (and the adjoining Werchikwar) is *tū'vek* 'gun, musket': Pers. *tufayag*, *tufak*.

Finally it may be mentioned that Kho. has borrowed from Pers. a few words which I have not come across in any of the neighbouring languages. Thus, e.g.: *gudāz* 'trouble, grief' and *isikkī* 'excuse', probably from Pers. *śikāl* 'cunning, deceit', cf. *śikālīs* 'care, roguery'. *Iškātī* also exemplifies the tendency to render Pers. *si*, *su* + a consonant by Kho. *is-*. Thus: *iske'ma* 'awl', *iskama* 'belly', *ispēl* 'whistling'; *isīr* 'horse', *isīryān* 'sprouts' (Psh. *tēyūma*, if from Pers. *sīlēy* 'straight'. The same tendency prevails in the development of IA. words in Kho. and it is impossible to decide whether the initial *is-*, etc., in the loanwords is of Kho. or of dialectical Pers. origin.

As regards *isfōr* it is possible that it has not been borrowed from Modern Pers., where the word is hardly ever used, but from middle Ir., cf. e.g. N.W. Turfan Phl. 'star'. This leads us on to the next group of loanwords.

II

In an earlier publication⁵ I have tried to show that Kho. contains a number of other "Middle-Ir."⁶ loanwords. It is, however, impossible to draw a clear line between words of Middle E.Ir. origin and such as may have been borrowed from one of the Pamir dialects at an earlier stage of development. But, at any rate, some of the Kho. words of

¹ In *phān* 'shirt' < Pra. *pinkān* the aspiration has been transposed. The origin of *pīrātī*, *pīlātī* 'trousers' is unknown to me. It rhymes with Pers. *serwātī* < *dolwār*.

² Pers. (Dardic dial. in Chitral) *sabzīkī* probably comes from Kho. Another kind of lucerne is called *jan'hal* in Pal., *jan'hal* in Gavar-Bati, and *ses'ħel* in Kalasha.

³ Vide Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 214.

⁴ Cf. Horn, *Gr. Jr. Ph.*, i, 2, 33.

⁵ The distribution of the words for 'gun': *mīlīq*, *baraq*, and the various forms assumed by *tufayag* in Ir. and IA. would require a special study. Here it suffices to note that *tufak* must have come from the north-west. The Dard dialects of the Kunar valley have forms borrowed through Psh. *tūpāk*. Most Pamir dialects (and Ormuri) have the Turkic word *mīlīq*, or they employ the old local word for 'bow' with a new meaning.

⁶ But Kal. *ispīzī* 'whistling'; *ispīzī*, Kati *ispā* 'blute' are genuine.

⁷ Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan, p. 75 f.

"Middle-Ir." appearance probably come from a language of civilization and not from a neighbouring local dialect.

Among the most important of the words dealt with are *haren* 'mirror' < **g̚h̚n*; *baxn* 'spinning-wheel': Sogd. *bxan* 'wheel'; etc.; *nimež* (Kati *nāmē*) 'prayer': Phl. *nāmā*, Kurd. *nimež*, etc.; *zār* 'poison': N.W. Phl. *zār*, Kurd. *zār*; *dūwarih* 1 'door': Old Pers. *dūwarih* 'portico'; *yānū* 'pregnant': Sogd. *yānū* 'heavy'. Also *zatan* 'house, room' must be an early loanword from Ir., cf. Gabri *xata* 'house'; and Slav. *zata* 'hut' which is probably also borrowed from Ir.³

On the other hand, it is very doubtful if *shat*, *čau* (Kal. *čhat*) 'lake' can have been borrowed from Ir. (Av. *čāt-* 'well'), as suggested loc. cit.

But there are some other words which are certainly of early (W. or E.) Ir. origin. Thus we find *rōti* 'a fast': Prs. *rōzi*, Psht. *rōž*, Brahui loanword *rōž*; *anič* 'forehead': cf. Bal. *anīšy*; < **āničakə*⁴; *čātir* 'tent' (borrowed from Kho. into Kal. and Yd.); Prs. *čādar*, -*ir*; *gīrañlōy* 'peach' from an earlier form of Prs. *gūrdātē* with substitution of *rw* for **r̚s*; -*žeri* (in *pusi-žari* 'kitten') < **čišriya*, cf. Av. *čiš-čišra*, *wahkōč*⁵ 'descended from a snake, a wolf'; *lōpārīng* 'battle-axe': Prs. *lōbar-žīn*(*g*), Wkh. *lōpān*, etc.; **božit* 'to play (chess, etc.)'⁶; Prs. *bazzam*, *bazzan*; -*yon* 'like', resembling': Sogd. *yōn* 'manner, kind'; cf. Pashtai *yōni* 'like', Hürkin (N.E. Caucasian) *yūna* 'like'. Also the interesting word *'drōcūm* 'silver' must have passed through Middle Ir. on its way from Greek to Kho.

It is also tempting to derive Kho. *paz'turi* 'the sunny side of a valley or a hill' from Av. Phl. *apāxtar(a)-* 'northern' with *u* from unstressed *a* (cf. *astur* 'he is' < **āstuti*) and a secondary suffix. In Upper Chitral the earliest known home of the Khos, the sunny side of the valley would be the north-western, in Mastuj the northern one.

III

From early times down to the present day the inhabitants of Chitral have been in constant and close contact with the Ir. tribes to the north and west, and their dialects have been influenced by Kho. This is especially the case with Yidgha, which has been spoken in Chitral for many generations. But Wakhi also, although being separated from Chitral by a high range of mountains, has submitted to the influence of Kho. to the extent of borrowing even some personal pronouns from this language.⁷

But Kho., on its side, has not been averse to adopting a number of words from these numerically and culturally unimportant Ir. border tribes. We do not know how the process of borrowing has taken place, Yidgha-Munji *xygo* 'wall'?

¹ Kal. *čoruz*, *čirug* may be adaptations of the Kho. word.

² It is noteworthy that the native IA. word *gar'bīn* is used about animals, while the foreign and nobler one is reserved for human beings.

³ This derivation is rejected by Boillet (BSL, 28, p. 133), who does not, of course, know the Kho. and Gabri forms. It is not necessary to assume, with Jold. (WuS, 12, p. 86) that *zātā* has passed through an Ugric language with *z- < k-*. Cf. also Yidgha-Munji *xygo* 'wall'?

⁴ Fiske MTG., 6, p. 40.

⁵ Ir. *č* becomes *č* in Kho. But in the Group **č*s this treatment was excluded.

⁶ Prs. 1 pl. *bajis*, pret. 3 pl. *bāžīni*, etc. A different word is *božit* 'to divide', of IA. origin.

A much more doubtful case is *tōzmarz* which O'Brien and also my Kalashin informant give as the Kho word for daughter-in-law. It has a decidedly Ir. appearance, and one could easily imagine a Middle Ir. **tōzme-čān* denoting the daughter-in-law as the container of the family lineage, the "receptaculum seminis".

But Colonel Lorimer, who has kindly undertaken to ascertain the exact meaning of the word for me in Gilgit, informs me that it does not mean daughter-in-law, but "is a term used of two sets of parents-in-law vis-à-vis each other, and is used by them as a term of address to each other". This seems to upset the otherwise plausible derivation of *tōzmarz*.

It is perhaps conceivable that the meaning given by Lorimer is, after all, a secondary one. If the word did originally denote the daughter-in-law, it may have got its sphere of meaning extended so as to include her parents, and subsequently have lost its primary signification and have been restricted to its present use.

We do not know from which Middle Ir. dialect or dialects Kho. may have borrowed. There exists, however, possibly one indication regarding the source of some of the words mentioned above. The Kalashia name for the Khos is *Pāñir*, which can be derived from **Parāñu* and may originally have been applied to a group of Parthians who found their way to Chitral and established their rule among the native tribes of the country.

⁷ The existence of recent Wakhi settlers in the Yarkhun valley does not alter the situation in this respect.

⁸ Cl. Rep. Agh., p. 70.

but we must remember that the circumstances favour an extensive linguistic exchange. Small groups of settlers are constantly emigrating from one valley to another, peasants cross the passes to trade in the nearest bazaar or in search of temporary employment as labourers, shepherds meet in a friendly or unfriendly way on the grazing grounds in the mountains. The village communities are small, and the local dialects have no great prestige. The result is a lack of backbone, a linguistic liability which offers little resistance towards the introduction of foreign elements.

But, even so, it is remarkable that Kho. should have borrowed from Wakhi, or from an earlier form of that language, some of the most common words: Thus we find:—

Kho. *do'yür* 'finger-nail' < Wkh. *džeger*, *džijer*, etc. < *n(a)g- (cf.

Capus' Wkh. *hindiger*) < *nək- with Wkh. *k* < z.

Kho. *r'iğis* 'beard' < Wkh. *regiš*, *ravis* < *frugrīsa- (acc. to Sköld).

Kho. *ıyırā* 'fruit-blossom' < *sprīy: Wkh. *spray*, *spry*. Cf. also

Kho. *işpreñik*, *ısprenjik* 'to blossom', < Ir. *sprenfa(ya)-, cf. Sogd. *ıyrr-* 'to blossom', Sak. *haspolis-* (caus.).

Kho. *ıspırak*, *ıspırəz* 'ceiling' < *spərəst (?) , Wkh. *si'pask*, Shgh. *spāč* 'rafter'.

Kho. *sonihu* 'raven' < Wkh. *jōnd*, cf. Oss. *sunt*.

Kho. *paz* 'breast' < Wkh. *paz*, Sar. *puz*, etc.

Kho. *razmī* 'embers' < Wkh. *raznīg* 'fire'.

Kho. *yerik*, *yerik* 'to turn (into)', etc. < Wkh. *yīr-* 'to turn round'.

Kho. *pot* 'polo-ball' < Wkh. *tup* 'playing ball'.

Kho. *sa'puk* 'hoof' (Werch. *sapa*). Wkh. has the Prs. loanword *sun*, but there may have existed an earlier genuine Wkh. form with

the characteristic Wkh. change of *f* > *p* (cf. Av. *safja*).

Kho. *wūru* 'rain', *zomek* 'to yawn', *sarék* 'to appear, seem', correspond to Wkh. *wūr* 'rain', *zim* 'yawn', *sidiy* 'to appear', but these words may have been borrowed by Kho. from some other Ir. dialect (cf. Oss. *zāmjan* 'to yawn').

And in the case of Kho. *xel* (Kal. *kkel*) 'perspiration', *an'dāu* 'fever', *wāy* 'price, money': Wkh. *xil*, *andav*, *war*, which can scarcely be genuine Wkh. forms, it is equally possible that both languages have borrowed from a common Ir. source. Nor is it certain that Wkh. *kirępč*, *kirępči* 'magpie' is the form from which Kho. *kirępi* has been borrowed. Cf. Shgh. *kirępc*, Werchikwar *ıçsep*, etc.

¹ Cf. Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan, p. 78.

The following words, which are common to Kho. and Wkh., have an Ir. appearance, but they have not been traced in any other Ir. language and their origin is therefore uncertain: Kho. *u'xār*: Wkh. *wa'xār* 'ladder'; Kho. *bız'bär* 'eagle, kite': Wkh. *bisnır* (*bız (?) + par ?); Kho. *şəngür* (Kal. *şəngür'ü*) 'guts, entrails': Wkh. *şəngər*; Kho. *ızx*, *zx* 'thorn, bramble': Wkh. *zxz*, *zxz*.

On the other hand, the vocalism and also the isolated position of the Wkh. word render it probable that Wkh. *türt* 'ford' is borrowed from Kho. *thart*. Kho. *nasık* 'beak' corresponds to Wkh. *nüük*, Sar. *nisk*, but can scarcely be separated from Gawar-Bati *nasuk*, Dameli *nasq*, Pashai *nasuk*, *nästük*.

It is surprising that Kho. should have borrowed any words from Yidgha, the dialect of a small and unimportant border-community. Yet this seems to be the case, although the situation is considerably obscured by the circumstance that Yd. has evidently borrowed many words of Ir. origin from Kho., and it is often difficult to distinguish such words from those which may have been adopted into Kho. from Yd.

The following are the most probable examples of Kho. borrowing from Yd., or an older form of that dialect:—

Kho. *hələm* 'limb, body': Yd. *hadamē* < Av. *hādāman*, with regular change of *nd* < *d*. *h-* appears in Yd. without any regard to etymology.

Kho. *yēk*, *yētin* 'to spin': Yd. *yūm*, with regular loss of intervocalic *v/w*. Cf. Munji *yūwam*, Wkh. *zūp*, Sgr. *yūw*, *yēv* < *geip-

Kho. *waznī* (also Pal.) 'pillow': Yd. *wiznū* < *wiznū < *barzniča-. But Kho. *wiznīdīn* 'bolster' < *var(d)nī is an earlier loanword and is probably in its turn the source of Yd. *trazidīnē*.

Kho. *xu'rī* 'wild rose': Yd. *axrō* < *ā-xariā- (?), cf. Pra. *xār*, etc. Kho. *peženik* 'to entrust': Yd. *pižem*, Munji *pejōn-* < *pati-jamaya-.

Kho. *şenj* 'needle': Yd. *şinjō*, *şinjō* < *şinžnō, cf. Mj. *şinžnō*. The Kho. word can scarcely be connected with Kal. *suš*, *suzik*, etc.

Kho. *ʃüs* 'muzzle, lip of an animal': Yd. *frusē* < Av. *frasə-* 'forwards' + -kr-. It is not certain that the Kho. word is borrowed from Yd.

Kho. *drēš* 'to pour out, sow, throw, shave': Yd. *drē-* with the same varieties of meaning. The word is also found in Munji and must be Ir. (**kan-dāwuya*-?).

Kho. *wenjéik* 'to try': Yd. *trōč-* (for *-trēj-* < **urinj-*?). Cf. Bal. *brifrag*.

Kho. *ju-saxa* 'a period of two years'. Only given by a Yidgha as the translation of his own *ləh-saxa*. If correct *saxa* < **saxa* may be connected with Ir. *sak-* 'to pass the time, vide Alphab. List, s.v. *saxā*.

Kho. *trispōj* 'dandelion': cf. Yd. *trisp* 'sour'. Kho. *ro'mēn* (O'Brien *ro'mēnku*) 'aspen': Yd. *ra'meno*. Also in Mj. and therefore scarcely of Kho. origin.

Kho. *usjurik* 'to flee, run, jump': Yd. *usluš-* 'to jump'. Apparently the original Yd. present stem was **ustur-*, **usur-*, or **uslur-*, *usluš-* 'being the ancient past stem'.

Kho. *au'zehu* 'heifer (two years old)': Probably < early Yd. **ar-eθo* < **abi-* (or **upr-*) *zθyā-*; cf. *taz̄e* 'pregnant animal', < **upr-* (?) *zθyā-*, *paz̄e* 'male sheep one to two years old', < **parizθyaka*.

Kho. *corax* 'spark' corresponds to Yd. *corox*, but similar forms are found also in other Ir. languages. Yd. *yernāmā* 'whirlpool', *zirvēk* 'to lament, cry', *sagurj* 'large hawk', *wāy* 'price', and Yd. *yunāz*, fr. Kho. *yernāmā*, *yerdāmā* (Kal. *gerdhan*) in its turn a loanword from Ir., cf. Pers. *girdāb*, Sgl. *yerzəb* and especially Wairi Psh. *yēnbai* < **gertāna*? The nature of the relationship between Kho. *tevēs* 'bridle', *zirvēk* 'to lament, cry', *sagurj* 'large hawk', *wāy* 'price', and Yd. *yunāz*, *zirvēk*, *sagurj*, *hifj*² is unknown. Kho. *trusñi* 'thirsty' is probably a loanword from Ir., but Yd. *trusñē* is borrowed from, and not the source of, the Kho. word. I do not know whether Kho. *treṣṇa'yuli* 'thyme' is of Ir. origin. Also Yd. *tanou* 'rope' (Biddulph) is probably borrowed from Kho. *tanau* < Ir., cf. Pers. *tanūdān* 'to twist'.

Finally we may mention that Kho. *nōj* 'rushes' is derived from Skr. *nugā-* and not borrowed from Munji *nal*.

The third Ir. Pamir language bordering upon Chitral is Sangicheh-Ishkushmi. The strongest evidence of its influence upon Kho. is Kho. *wēzz* 'above': Sgl. *wēz* (< **werz-* < **berz-*). Kho. *u'sawu* 'whetstone', *dumik* 'to card wool', *yortik* 'to turn round' remind us of Sgl. *wasin* (< **wasin*), *damb*, *yort-* 'to walk about' (early loanword from PhL.). But it is by no means certain that the Kho. words

come from Sgl. Cf. e.g. Yd. *afšeno*, Pers. *afšān* 'whetstone'; Yd. *līb-* < **dumb-* 'to card', etc.

If Kho. *a'draz* 'hillside, forest' is connected with Ishk. *alač*, *dač* 'hill' (< **ardax*) the borrowing must have taken place at an early date. Kaladrakh, Pal. *adraz* 'hillside' may easily be loanwords from Kho., from which these languages have borrowed very freely.

Kho. *čid'in* 'brass kettle' (> Kal. *čidin*) recalls Ishk. *čidun*; but both words are probably of Pra. origin, cf. ē**čaudan**, či^o 'cast metal', či^o dān 'kettle' is found also in Yaqghulami. Finally may be mentioned the very remote possibility of the curious Kho. word *yōt* 'bare', having been borrowed from a lost (or not recorded) Sgl. **yōt* < **guusija* 'long-eared'. But what about Kal. *g'āva'riak*, *gāva'fak* 'bare'?

IV

While the Dardic languages south of Kho. contain a number of loanwords from Psh., such words are extremely rare in Kho. It is not till quite recently that the two languages have come into contact, Kho. expanding towards the south and Psh. towards the north in the Kunar valley and Dir.

But there are many words in Kho. which have a general E.Ir. appearance, or which agree more or less with forms found in several Pamir dialects. Such words will be found in the following Alphabetic list (cf. s.vv. *coprik*, *laš*, *menū*, *muryulēn*, *pālum*, *roš*, *šozčik*, *šō*, *sapik*, *wōr*, *werkhū*, *wazrin*, *xāl* (*əxomik*, *xorū*, *zāy*, *zēč*) which includes also, for the sake of reference, all the words mentioned above, and a number of doubtful loanwords, or such as could not easily be fitted into the groups dealt with above. There are many other Kho. words which contain un-Indian sounds, but which have not been found either in Iranian, Turkish, or Burushaski. But there is always the possibility of new words having been created within Kho. itself at a time when foreign sounds had already been adopted into the phonetic system of the language. Cf. e.g. *yot* 'dumb' and *dəq* 'boy', which at the same time contain cerebrals and the un-Indian sounds *y* and *q*. In Psh. and Bal. words of a similar mixed type are quite numerous. At any rate, I hope that the list, in spite of its shortcomings and its inconclusiveness, may give some impression of the extent to which Kho. has been subject to Ir. influence, and that other scholars may be able to trace the source and history of many words which I have had

¹ Psh. loanword *kayrd*.

² Cf. above, p. 662.

³ Also Yd. *idne*, etc., of Pers. origin.

to leave unexplained. I need not add that my Kho. material is by no means exhaustive.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF IRANIAN WORDS IN KHOWAR

ān̄'rōy 'eruption'. With a kind of reduplication from Prs. *ān̄rōy*?

ān̄rōy is borrowed from Kho.

ān̄ič 'forehead', v. p. 244.

andāu 'fever', v. p. 246.

angū(h) 'awake', v. p. 243.

an̄teik 'to send', < Ir. **ha-n̄-zaya-*, cf. Av. *zā(y)-* 'mittiere'?

an̄zōit (Lor.) 'waste, desolate'. Of Ir. appearance, but without any known connection. Sgl. *zenz*: *zāyōθ* 'to lift, seize', etc., cannot be compared.

is'kīm 'silk', v. p. 241.

is'kenz 'awl', v. p. 243.

u'sonu 'whetstone', v. p. 248.

is̄kūndi 'short'. Cf. Kurd. *kīnd* (v. Bartholomae *ZDMG.*, 50, 702)!

isprū 'blossom', *isprēñik*, *is̄p* 'to blossom', v. p. 246.

isprāsk 'ceiling', v. p. 246.

as'gār 'lungs', cf. Prs. *šaxār*.

istāri 'star'. Prob. IA., cf. Ashkun *is̄ta-*, etc.

isfōr 'horse', v. p. 243.

is̄kāi 'excuse', v. p. 243.

is̄kāma 'belly', v. p. 243.

is̄mādēik 'to count'.

is̄pel 'whistling', v. p. 243.

u'shārūk 'to flee, spring', v. p. 248.

avārk, *avārk* 'to ride'. Cf. Av. *bar-*, Yagn. *vorāki* 'to ride'.

ic̄is 'bridle', v. p. 248.

u'xīr 'ladder', v. p. 247.

a'x̄tūnu 'stable', < **ān̄ur-dān-*?
āyūtūn 'egg', < **āyūtūyāk*, cf. Prs. *xōya*, etc. But -*un*?

au'zētu 'heifer', v. p. 248.

bo'yūzu 'frog'. Cf. Prs. *bazay*, etc., Av. *tuzaya-*. With transposition, cf. Munji *uwazaya*.

brōnsk, *bron* 'meadow', Kal. *brūnz*, Pal. *brāñnu*, Dam. *brūs*. Poss. < **mranz* < Ir. **maruu-*. But Av. *maraz* 'border country'.

bōök 'thick'. Cf. Wkh. *bōj*, Sgl. *varōk*, etc. ?

ba'sōy, *ba's* 'stream divided into many rivulets'. Yd. (*yāyūyo*) *barṣīyo* id.

biz'bār 'eagle', v. p. 247.

**bat̄ik* 'to play', v. p. 244.

coprik 'to gather, pick': Wkh. *čip*, Sar. *cev*, Yd. *čiv-*.

coraz 'spark', v. p. 248.

čik, *čhōk* 'to be frozen'. Pres. **čihvāman*. Prob. from Prs. *či(h)vāman*

'to feel cold', cf. Munji *čiy*.

či'dhñ 'brass pot', v. p. 249.

čirweli 'headman of several villages', *čirbū* 'village headman'; Prs. *čarbū* 'fatness' (cf. Oss. *čat̄-soi* 'the fat of the land, a prominent man').

čhat 'lake', v. p. 244.

ča'fir 'tent', v. p. 244.

čaxur 'spinning wheel', v. p. 244.

do'yir 'finger nail', v. p. 246.

dumik 'to card wool', v. p. 248.

drēčik 'to pour out', etc., v. p. 247.

drēcum 'silver', v. p. 244.

dræzēk 'to load up' (> Kal. of Ursun *drāz-*). Ir. *darz-* 'to wrap up, to load', cf. Sar. *zər-* 'to load' and Et. Voc. *Fsht.* s.v. *lēzār*.

duwarth 'door', v. p. 244.

frost 'right, true'. Ir. ?

fjōl 'muzzle', v. p. 247.

frižēk 'to sniff'. Cf. Wkh. *ferz-* 'to sneeze'?

gu'dāz 'trouble', v. p. 243.

giurulōr 'peach', v. p. 244.

gurzen 'garden', v. p. 242.

peči 'to spin', v. p. 247.

peči 'leather'. Ir. ? But cf. Gavār-Bati *guci*, Dam. *geči*, Waig. *guči*, Kal. (Leitner) *gev*.

yāl 'polo' (Kal. *gāl*). Prs. *yāl* 'rolling', *yāluk* 'playing ball'. Dialect form < **gərt-*?

yelēit 'to curl'. Prs. *yulēla* 'curls', but no corresponding verb.

yakamj 'kite', v. p. 243.

yōjī 'hare', v. p. 249.

yān 'wooden trough', Ir. ?

yōn 'like', v. p. 244.

yark 'to turn (into)', v. p. 246.

yāni 'upland pasture', Av. *gañi-* 'mountain', etc.?

yruč 'a bunch of grapes'. Prob. IA. in spite of the *y-*. Cf. Gavār-

Bati *urč*, Pal. *grūc*, Dam. *gu'rūs*, *g'ruč*, Psht. of Dir. *gurč*

'strawberry'. Kal. *rūc* 'bunch of grapes' < Kho.

vardik 'to turn round', v. p. 248.

yrānu 'pregnant', v. p. 244.

yer'ñānu 'eddy', v. p. 248.

yuzār 'footsteps', v. p. 659.

hādām 'limbs, body', v. p. 243.

ha'ren 'mirror', v. p. 244.

etc. Kal. *vījuk* is IA.

horsk 'straight, true' (Dan. *jsku* 'truth') < Ir. **urz*-, cf. Yd. *urzuy*,

helleč 'fathom', v. p. 242.

kreny 'wrinkle', v. p. 243.

kar'was 'cotton' (Kal. *krā'was*). Borrowed from Prs. *karūs*, ^a*was*

(in its turn from Ind.), and again borrowed from Kho. into Yd.

kušk(omul) 'armpit'. Cf. Prs. *kaš*?

kisipi 'magpie', v. p. 246.

kitep 'book', v. p. 242.

kočko, Gawa-Bati *kōpota* are perhaps early Ir. loanwords.

khām 'palate', v. p. 242.

khan'gor 'sword'; Prs. *alangal*, Sogd. *znyr*, Yd. *xn'gor*, A.r. *xanjar*

(< Prs.).
last 'plain, steppe', Kal. *lhas*, Pal. *l'hāz* 'plain, flat'. From an
Ir. *l-* dialect, cf. Prs. *dāst*?

me'nū 'guest'. < **nuñm-*, cf. Prs. *mihmān*, etc.?

muzafām 'down of birds', 'wool of ibex'. Wkh. *marijan* 'goats'

'wool'.

nimēž 'prayer', v. p. 244.

nask 'beak', v. p. 247.

na'wes 'grandchild', v. p. 242.

nizēšil 'to write', v. p. 243.

naxor 'pea', v. p. 243.

pālum (Kal. *pāl'm*) 'soft, smooth'. Wkh. *pall(a)m* 'soft, smooth',
fine powder; Yd. *polam* 'soft, smooth, fine', Sgl. *pālōm*. Also

Prs. *palm* 'dust' from an *l-* dialect?

pel'sk 'rug', v. p. 242. Cf. Shugnui *pe'l's*.

pulvazgush 'finger-ring'. Whk. *płöngist*, but Yd. *parygūč* (< **paran-*
gusči). Not found in Prs.

posp 'wool'. Probably an early loanword from Ir. *pašm*. Found in

most Dardic dialects; Kal. *pos*, Bashk. *pəm*, Gawa-Bati *pōm*, etc.

pot 'polo ball', v. p. 246.

pasutri 'sunny side', v. p. 244.

pāz 'breast', v. p. 246.

pežemik 'to entrust', v. p. 247.

phi'rūn 'shirt', v. p. 242.

pharwāl 'trousers', v. p. 242.

phost 'skin', v. p. 242.

roči 'fast', v. p. 244.

rī'gīš 'beard', v. p. 246.

rūm 'tail'. Acc. to Turner (*Nep. Dict.*, s.v. *damst*) early loanword

from Prs. In that case the only Kho. word with *r-* < Ir. *ś-*

The long *ī* would be difficult to explain. Probably IA. = Skr.

lēma.

ro'men 'aspen', v. p. 248.

ronzik, *ranzuman* 'to shiver' (Kal. *ronz*, Dam. *rđz*). Probably Ir.

renz- < **ra-rz-*, cf. Prs. *lərzidān*, Pahl. *rəždēdāl*, etc. Welsh

Gypsy rizer < **rīr-*?

ros̄i 'daylight'. Wkh. *ras̄i* 'day', Sgl. *ras̄i* 'dawn'.

riwīš 'rhubarb', v. p. 243.

rozrik 'to leave behind'. Ir.?

rozni 'embers', v. p. 246.

su'puk 'hoof', v. p. 246.

sor 'head'. The o indicates a rather early borrowing. Yd. *soro* 'ear
of corn' from Kho.

sar̄ik 'to appear', v. p. 248.

srāng 'horn'. Cross between **śring* (< **ṛngi-*) and Av. *srī-*? The

modern Pamir dialects all have *ś* < *sr*, for instance Yd. *śū*.
-*sara*, v. p. 248.

sazēk 'to sew, prepare'. Ir.?

sa'jūrj 'hawk', v. p. 248.

śūn̄j 'needle', v. p. 247.

śinjūr 'jujube-tree'. Prs. *śinjād* Yd. *śazjō*, Munji *śijā*. Anc. loan-

word from Ir. (with *s̄j* > *śj*) or vice versa?

śez (O'Brien) 'stumbling'. Cf. Prs. *śazidān*, Yd. *śu'xuy-* 'to

stumble'.

śezik 'horn', v. p. 242.

śozik, *śazkənān*, *śozə-* (O'Brien, Ganj-i-Pukhto) 'to pass, cross a

pass, to forgive', in the G.-i.P. 'to pass' (about the time).

Kal. *śazrim* from Kho., Sgl. *śazs*, Wkh. *śezs-* 'to pass'. Probably

< **szazs-* from Ir. *sak-* 'to pass (the time)'.

śū 'black'. Wkh. *śū*, Sgl. *śū*. Ir.?

śubtiki 'locerne', v. p. 242.

sangur 'guta', v. p. 247.

sonku 'raven', v. p. 246.

sa'rik 'bread'. Wkh. *xapik*, Shgh. *šapik*, etc., v. Rep. Lingn. Miss. Afgn. p. 77.

tawau 'rope', v. p. 248.

tunk 'shallow': Pra *tumuk*, etc. Also Kho. *tunk* 'thin, delicate', etc.

ta'par-zing 'battle-axe', v. p. 244.

trus'ni 'thirsty', v. p. 248.

trispoj 'dandelion', v. p. 248.

tu'vek 'gun', v. p. 243.

tarmin 'daughter-in-law' (?!), v. p. 245.

wā' again, Pra. *bāz*. Pra. *wā* is used only as a verbal prefix.

we- 'without' < Ir. *(a)βē-, Pra. bē. *we-niθu* 'fatherless'; *we-xūl* 'tasteless'; *we-soru* 'widow'.

wāy 'price', v. pp. 240, 248.

wāru 'rain', v. p. 246.

wōr 'smell' (> Pal. ḫr). < *βōð, cf. Wkh. *wīl*, Werchikw. loan-word *vēri*.

werkhū 'lamb'; *werkhālu* 'ram, three years old'. Surely borrowed from Ir. Wkh. *wurk*, etc.

warām 'felt, mounds'; *warānāk* 'posteen'; *šā warām* 'siāh-pūs'. Ir. ?

wrenjēk 'to fry', v. p. 248.

wāz 'above', v. p. 248.

waznāni 'bolster', v. p. 247.

waznī 'pillow', v. p. 247.

waznū 'wing' (Kal. *bazar-gundī*); *waznēn* *lo* (Kal. *wazan-lōu*) 'flying squirrel'; *postwazan*, *pozwāzur*, *postwō* (Kal. *pōzwazan*) 'bat'. Cf. Yd. *wazrō*, Munji *wazrō*, Pahl. *wazr*, etc.

we-soru 'widow' (> Yd. *wisrū*). Ir. *βē-sar 'headless', cf. Kal. *a-riṣa* 'widow, be-sar'.

wazēn 'evening', < *uz-ajana-, cf. Av. *uzayara*, *uzayevina*, Yd. *izāne*.

wazm 'owner'. Ir. ?

xāl (Kal. *khat*), Yd. *xāl* from Kho.) 'taste', < Ir. *xwēl < xwōs, Pra. *xwōs*.

xēl 'sweat', v. p. 246 (Pahl. of Kurangal *hāl* from Psht.).

xomik, *xomik* 'to descend'. Wkh. *šām-*, cf. Sar. *šāos-*, Yd. *xwfs*, Pra. *xambōndan* 'to bend', etc.

xēr 'stanch', Ir. ?

xora 'mill'. Cf. Sgl. *xušnī*. Yd. *xiryo*, etc.

zār 'other'. Ir. ?

xu'ni 'wild rose', v. p. 247.

rešēk 'to entreat'. Ir. ?

xušk 'soft'. Ir. ?

zošp 'dream'. Pra. *zasp* 'asleep'. But is?

zalon 'house', v. p. 244.

zaušk, xaušk 'to request'. Ir., cf. Arm. *zausin* 'I say' ??

zu'šn 'happy' (Kal. *xw'šn*, Dam. *kho'šn*, Bashgali *kuzn* from Kho.). Cf. Sogd. *xwšənt* ('*xwš'nt*)? Or Pra. *xušnān*?

xo'jānu 'belly'. Ir. ?

xuž'jām 'carrot', Kati (Chitral) *gaž'jam*. **gəž(k)š + šim* of IA. origin but perhaps influenced in the ending by Sel., Pra. *šahyām* 'turnip'.

yōmnān 'woe, *urmān*' (in poetic formula). Early loanword from Pra. *ērnān* with Kho. ē- > yo- (cf. *yo'mun* 'winter').

yārān Bidd., *yurān* O'Brien 'year'; *yērān* Bidd. 'solstice'. Connection with Av. *yār-* 'year' is very improbable.

yozn(u) 'yoke'. < Middle Ir. **yōzən* = Skr. *yogana-*?

zōik 'to agree to'. Ir. ?

zāy 'fat, grease'. Yazghulami *zāy* 'liquid fat'; Psht. *yoz* 'fat of the kidneys' (and Oss. *gr(n)z* 'marrow'?).

zo'mēk 'to yawn', v. p. 246.

zāru 'old'. Pra. *zar* 'old man', Yd. *zōr*.

zēč 'yellow'. Ir. **zēr* + č, cf. Seistanī *zērū* or *zarič* 'rust disease of wheat'. Shgh. *zereč* 'rust'. Kho. *zēbali* 'yellow rose' < **zēd-*

zār 'poison', v. p. 244.

-zēč 'young animal', v. p. 244.

zēryēk 'to lament', v. p. 248.1

¹ Also the other Dardic languages contain some early Ir. loanwords. I have mentioned Shina, etc., *gufpār* 'prince', Rep. p. 76. Others are e.g. Kal. *parēz* (Dam. *parēž*) 'stove'; Parichi *paridž*; Kal. *as'bē*, *čhus* 'small flat basket'; *sohška* 'big, deep basket' < **aspat*; Pra. *aspat*, etc.; *zāmāyek* 'child-bearing'; *xwōs-*; Gwar-Hari *zilak*, Babrikat *jatuk* 'boy(s)'; Pbil. *zilat*; Dammeli *rōpāk* 'fox' (or IA ?); Ashkun *bat'mi* 'almond'; Pra. *badzim*, etc.; Palola *berzogala* 'tomato, egg-plant'; Kohistani Shina *btaičugur*; Pra. *baččagān* < IA. (through Ir. ?).